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sioner works with the native provincial head, who is a local high chief and bears the recent political title of *roko*. The *roko* is in charge of the native affairs of the province. The native administration of each province is in the hands of a provincial council, presided over by the secretary for native affairs and composed of representatives from the district councils and certain native government officials. The provincial council sits annually.

Each province is composed of a number of districts. The districts frequently demark minor historic political divisions headed by a local chief. Each district is administered by a native government official entitled *mbuli* (district headman). The *mbuli* is usually a local chief. He presides over a district council composed of local chiefs and village headmen in the district. The district council sits monthly. It controls the domestic affairs of each district and appoints the village headmen. Each district is composed of a number of villages. A village headman (entitled *turanga ni koro*) is in charge of each village. He is head of the village assembly in which all important affairs of the village are discussed.

On each island there is a native resident missionary, trained in a mission school and appointed by the Wesleyan Methodist Mission, in charge of a mission church. The natives contribute a quarterly tithe to the mission and attend church on Sundays. Their children are baptized, and Christian marriage and death rites supplement the native ones. The influence of the mission in Lau has been discussed elsewhere (23, pp. 110-123).

Each island has at least one native schoolmaster in charge of a village school. He has been trained in a mission or a government teachers' training school. He teaches the children reading and writing in the Mbauan dialect and simple arithmetic during two or three hours several mornings a week. The problems of education in Lau have been discussed elsewhere (23, pp. 140-145).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

SOCIAL GROUPS

First the social groups of Lau and then the organization of each village will be described in detail.

The largest kinship unit in Lau is the phratry (*yavusa*). It is based on the historic settlement of the islands. Each phratry consists of a group of clans (*matanggali*). The clans formerly occupied hamlets (*tokatoka*) in garden lands or clearings in the bush. Since the abolition of warfare in Lau the hamlets have moved to the coast and united into villages, many retaining their local unity. Hence the clans are really clan-hamlets, both kinship and geographic units. They are divided into subclans (called *tokatoka* or *mbatchi ni lovo*), which are subdivided into families or households (*vuvale*).

The largest geographical unit in Lau is the chiefdom (formerly called *mata ni tu*), which consists of groups of islands or minor chiefdoms united in tributary relationship to the high chief at Lakemba. In each minor chiefdom are several villages (*koro*). Each village is composed of several clan-hamlets.

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The chiefs' pleratry holds the highest rank in Lau. It constitutes the Lauan nobility, and its members together with those of the carpenter pleratries and the sea people form the upper class, as opposed to the land people or lower class. Members of the chiefs' pleratry are interested in etiquette and chiefly ceremonial. They have graceful manners and a dignified bearing. They are poor gardeners and dislike working on the land, but they are expert sailors and fishermen and were formerly great warriors.

The village of Tumbou, Laisenia, is the center of the nobility of Lau. According to the genealogies, clans belonging definitely to the chiefs' pleratry are found in southern Lau only in the village of Nasau on Moala and in the villages of Nggalinggali and Tokalau on Kambara. No village is composed entirely of clans belonging to the upper class.

The chiefs' carpenters

Ancestors of the chiefs' carpenter pleratry (*matai tau*), according to Fijian lore, migrated from northeast Viti Levu to southern Lau before the Ndaunisai movement. They came in search of the greenheart. The group claims Rokola, the god of carpenters, as their forefather.

According to the clan genealogies, the chiefs' carpenter group first established itself on Kambara where it founded the Saunina clan of Uciwai. The people of Kambara say that the Saunina clan provided the carpenters for the chiefs of Kambara before the coming of the Tokalo carpenters.

According to the genealogies, the chiefs' carpenters spread from Kambara to Nairai, Gau, Koro, Batiki, Moala, Totoya, Matuku, Fulaga, Ogea Levu, Vanua Balavu, Cikobia, and Taveuni. Wherever they went they established the Saunina clan. Each village in the Lau group of islands that has a carpenter pleratry has a Saunina clan. Every male in these groups is trained to be a carpenter. These were the only chiefs' carpenters found on the islands visited.

The headmen of the clan holds the hereditary clan title of *matai lemaki*. According to Tatchini, the group formerly specialized in making double canoes of the *tambitembite* type (pp. 166-167); houses of the *vale vaka tonga* type (pp. 160-169); and multiple-legged lava bowls, especially ten-legged bowls, which they are reputed to have introduced into Lau. Today *lemaki* carpenters are hired to direct island, village and clan communal activities. They also work the clan garden lands.

Except in Ngalinggali, *lemaki* blood was absorbed by local clans in southern Lau. For example, according to the genealogies recorded on Namuka, Matathatchi, one of Malamala's wives, belonged to the Mbenidu clan on Namuka. Their son, Sekope, born on Namuka, established a hereditary line of carpenters in Mbenidu, his mother's clan.

The sea people

Two clans in southern Lau, Vandravandra on Fulanga and Tawake on Ongea, call themselves sea people (*kai mata*). Although I was unable to collect the full complement of data necessary for the study of the following evidence, I have included it because it is suggestive.

[illegible] Vandravandra [illegible] only six generations [illegible] Vandravandra [illegible] Tawake [illegible] Vandravandra [illegible] Tawake [illegible] Vandravandra [illegible] Tawake

[illegible]

According to Rivers (1914, II, 83) the Ndaiis (=mbe chief of Lavatbure holds the hereditary chief title of master fisherman (=mbe). The two clans of sea people in southern Lau, Vanduavandra and Tavuki, also hold the title of master fisherman. On Kambara and Motoe the title is held, however, by clans that are not called sea people. The master fisherman of Kambara belongs to the Vuanitavola clan of the chiefs' moiety and that of Motoe to the Nggali clan of the land moiety. On Fulanga, the master fisherman holds an especially high local rank. He is considered to be chief of the sea, as Tui Fulanga is chief of the land. This may be because fishing is particularly important as a source of food on Fulanga where the master fisherman has retained more of his functions than on any other island in southern Lau.

THE CLAN

I have used the term clan (*matanggali*) to designate a unilateral kinship unit which is, as a rule, exogamous, patrilineal, and patrilocal.

Theoretically, a clan consists of the descendants of a band of brothers who occupied a hamlet site. A few clans trace their pedigrees to the original bands. Hamlet sites are found on the islands today, in garden land or in the bush. They often bear the names of the clan or subclans which formerly occupied them. They are usually near a fortress site, which is located on a promontory or hill, and defended by means of tiers of rough stone walls. Old informants say that the hamlet dwellers occupied the fortresses only in times of warfare. The hamlet was formerly the land-owning unit, possessing proprietary rights over the hamlet site and the garden and bush land in the vicinity. With the cessation of warfare after the advent of Christianity, most hamlets moved to more convenient sites along the coast. In the days when descendants of the original occupants and others of the subclans lived in the hamlet, the clan was divided into [illegible]

[illegible]

Each ranking clan has one or more hereditary titles, which determine the rank and office of its members. The titles are held by the clan head, *mbe* (=*tuvuqa* in *matanggali*), who directs the affairs of the group. The office of clan headman is hereditary, descending from the first-born male to his

The clan directs the economic activities of its members. Its headman controls the clan lands, which are divided between the subclans and, ultimately, between families. The clan acts as an economic unit in communal industrial activities such as housebuilding, canoe building, and tapacloth manufacture, and in the provision of food and property for tribute and for village, island, and interisland feasts. As the most important ceremonial unit in the community, it regulates clan feasts, which mark a change in individual status such as birth, marriage, or death. It celebrates all clan, village, island and interisland feasts as a unit and receives one share of food at all interclan feasts.

The subclan

A large clan consists of two or three subclans. The senior subclan, direct descendant of the original clan-hamlet by primogeniture, is called *i takataka*. Occasionally it bears the name of one of the *takataka* formerly occupied by the group. It provides the clan headman. The junior subclans are called *mkaichi ni lava* (literally "teeth or edge of the earth oven"), that is, assistants to the senior subclan in providing and preparing food for a large feast.

A subclan may originate by splitting a clan grown too large to perform its functions or to be satisfied with one share of a large feast (cp. 41, 42). Theoretically, each part would then consist of the descendants of one of the brothers in the original band of brothers from which the clan originated. The senior subclan—the group descended from the senior branch—would hold highest rank in the clan, the other subclans ranking according to seniority. A subclan may also originate when a man, violating the rule of patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent, moves to his mother's village and his children form a new subclan within that of their mother (cp. 44, 45).

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ABSTRACT OF THE RECONSTRUCTED GENEALO

Lakemba Matailakemba clan	Kamb Nairo

NDAUNISAI-Vunvakavu
Viti Levu

RAN
Wang

SIN
Wang

RASOLO -Laufitu
Lakemba Tonga
Matailakemba
Tui Naisau

TAW
Wang
c. Kar

MALANI -Thiri
Lakemba Lakemba
Tui Naisau Tanggalevu

TCH
c. Kar
Tui K

VUETASAU-Vakaotea
Lakemba Lakemba
Nasangalau

TCH
Kam

ULUILAKEMBA -Temumu
Lakemba Viti Levu
Tui Naisau Mbau

APE
Kam
Ngga

FINAU -Mothe*
Lakemba Viti Levu
Tumbou Mbau
Tui Naisau

TEV
Kam
Ngga

TEVITA*
Lakemba
Tumbou

* the others from genealogies obtained locally (see pp. 30 f

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TRUCTED GENEALOGY OF THE CHIEFS' PHRATRY IN LAU

ned locality (see pp. 28, 29).

[p. 38 (B)]

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TOKALAU

Tokalau village on Kambara is composed of three clans. They are, according to rank: Vuanikathu and Vuanitavola of the chiefs' phratry, and Katoka of the land phratry. Vuanikathu, a warrior clan, has three subclans: Turanga, Mbete, and Naitathini. The last active chief of Kambara, Timothe Thakau, belonged to Turanga. Tchosaia Tchiani, his son, is called chief of Kambara, but he has not been installed. He traces his pedigree to Ndaunisai (table 2, f. p. 38). Recently the Vuanikathu clan was the highest in rank on Kambara but its influence is declining. It has lost its grip on life since the power of the chief of Kambara, who belongs to the group, has been undermined by the colonial government. The chief believes his misfortune is due to sorcery.

The headman of the Mbete subclan was formerly the chief priest on Kambara. He holds the hereditary clan titles of priest (*mbete*) and of envoy to Lakemba (*mata ki Lakemba*). The Mbete pedigree extends back ten generations to Leka and Mbalavu.

In 1929 the Mbete group declared itself independent of Vuanikathu, that it might have a separate share of the village feast. It still functions as a subclan in many respects and has been so classified.

A boy of ten is the only remaining male in Naitathini. When he is old enough to work the land, he will take over the duties and property of Naitathini subclan. Meanwhile he has been adopted into the clan of his mother. It is the duty of a man from Naitathini to make a formal request to the master fisherman when the village plans a communal fishing expedition. While the boy is a minor the request is made by the chief of crops.

A ceremonial name of Vuanikathu is Vatu Soro. This was the name of the foundation mound (*yavu*) of the chief's house in the old fortresses, Nakorovusa and Ndelaioloi. A group of stones south of the Ndelaioloi site is called Vatu Soro. Vuanikathu is related to the Thekena clan of Tumbou, Lakemba.

The Vuanitavola clan is composed of two subclans; Vunipipi and Matandravu. Vunipipi holds the hereditary clan title of master fisherman (*ndau ni nggoli*). Manoa, the great-grandfather of the present clan headman, held the title of chief of Kambara at the time when Christianity was introduced to Kambara (p. 39). Tchosaia says that Vuanitavola and Vuanikathu were formerly one clan. According to him the division occurred as follows:

> Tuitonga of Vuanikathu had two sons, Tuisamoa and Rambarawa. They quarreled and split the clan. The descendants of Tuisamoa, the first-born, remained Vuanikathu, and the descendants of Rambarawa became Vuanitavola. This divided Mburotu, the clan garden land, into two parts: Mburotu, which belonged to the Tuisamoa branch, and Singa Yandrena, which belonged to the Rambarawa branch.

An important intermarriage between the two clans took place when Thakauniwere, the first-born of the Vuanikathu line and great-grandfather

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of Tchosaia, married Tangatanga, the sister of Lutumailangi, who was the father of Manoa.

The Matandravu subclan, according to its pedigree, is descended from Sovuthe, a younger brother of Lutumailangi and Tangatanga of Vuanitavola, who went to Komo. A few of his descendants now live in Tokalau. Matandravu formerly held the hereditary clan title of chief of Tokalau.

The clan Katoka is composed of two subclans: Katoka and Saumua. For several years each has received a share in the feast, and they are in the process of separating into two clans. The Katoka group holds the titles of herald and chief of crops to the chief of Kambara. Katoka is the oldest clan in the village and owns more land than either of the other clans.

In Tokalau the old hamlet grouping of clans has been obscured because the village has expanded in order to allow space between the houses. The original plan of the village may be seen in the oldest section, called Nakoro (the village) at the south end of Tokalau (fig. 3; table 1). Here the three clans lived in local units. According to informants, Vuanikathu occupied the south end of the old village. The clan lived in a group of houses, the foundations of which may be seen southeast of Vale Levu, the house of the chief of Kambara (fig. 3, 1). This is still the main village site of the clan. Vuanitavola clan occupied its present site north of Vuanikathu. The Katoka clan lived between Vuanitavola and the cliffs. The old ceremonial ground was centrally located between the houses of the headmen of the noble clans. Recently the village has expanded under government regulation toward the north. The new section is called Koro Vou (New Village). It is divided into three strips running from cliff to shore and occupied from south to north by Katoka, Vuanikathu, and Vuanitavola clans respectively. The new ceremonial ground is located on the border between the old and the new villages.

The government house in Tokalau (fig. 3, 26) was built by the people of Kambara, Namuka, and Komo and is the property of the three islands. The church and the minister's house (fig. 3, 10) are on Vuanitavola land but are considered the property of the mission. The store and copra sheds (fig. 3, 25), also on Vuanitavola land, have been leased to a Chinese trading company.

LOMATCHI

There are three clans in the village of Lomatchi: Nakaka, Nawi, and Levuka. The people of Lomatchi know little of their pedigrees, but apparently all the clans in Lomatchi belong to the land phratry. The Nakaka clan-hamlet, situated in the center of the village, holds the highest rank.

The Nawi clan pedigree shows that Nawi was formerly composed of two subclans, Nawi and Lomatchi. The Lomatchi branch is now called Nawi. The subclan Nawi was started by Loweni and Kani, who came to Lomatchi about

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six generations ago from the clan Tanggalevu in Tumbou, Lakemba, and married into the Lomatchi branch. The Nawi branch has died out except for one woman, who married a Matuku man. She is now a widow and lives in the house of her son-in-law's father in Tokalau.

The clan Levuka holds the title of priest. According to tradition some Levuka people were driven out of the village and went to Onemate, a fortress site on the edge of the cliff south of Lomatchi. From Onemate they went to Undu and started the clan Tonganiuthi. Levuka holds the clan title of *tui ra* (chief of the ceremonial ground) on the island of Kambara. There are only three males left in the clan.

NGGALINGGALI

The village of Nggalinggali is inhabited by four clans: Tanggu and Naivotavota of the chiefs' phratry; Nanggara of the land phratry; and Matai Lemaki of the *lemaki* carpenters. There is a controversy concerning the genealogies of Tanggu and Naivotavota. Naivotavota traces descent to Singambongi, a great-grandson of Ndaunisai (table 2). Singambongi was chief of Wangava (p. 38). Through direct relationship with the former chiefs of Wangava, the Naivotavota clan claims proprietary rights over the entire island of Wangava. In this claim they are challenged by the Vuanikathu clan of Tokalau. However, the Naivotavota clan has taken possession of the island and exercises exclusive rights over the garden lands and controls the turtle breeding and fishing.

Tanggu traces descent through Wetasau to Ndaunisai (table 2).

Nanggara holds first rank in the land phratry on Kambara. The present clan headman is also the chief of Nggalinggali.

Matai Lemaki is a clan of hereditary carpenters (p. 34).

There is rivalry between the clans of the village for social prestige, hence it is difficult to obtain correct information concerning their relative rank. However, the division of a village feast, which is an indicaton of rank, is as follows: (1) village headman, Naivotavota clan; (2) chief of Nggalinggali, Nanggara clan; (3) Tanggu clan; (4) Matai Lemaki clan. An island feast is divided as follows: (1) Tanggu, (2) Nanggara, (3) Naivotavota, (4) Matai Lemaki.

Nggalinggali is the leading village on the east side of the island. Formerly the village had frequent wars with Tokalau for control of the island. The hostility of the two villages is expressed today in rivalry for social prestige, and the clans of the chiefs' phratry live in a constant quarrel. Naivotavota in Nggalinggali has the advantage over the other clans in the chiefs' phratry for the highest colonial government official on Kambara, the assistant district headman, belongs to this clan. The district headman (*mbuli*) lives on Namuka.

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UNDU

621 Undu village on Kambara is composed of three clans which, according to
618 rank are: Vakanaiau, including Saumua and Tonganiuthi subclans; Matasoata; and Valakevoro (also called Muanaithake). The village site is divided into long, narrow strips running from the cliffs to the shore. From south to north the strips are occupied by Matasoata, Tonganiuthi, Saumua, and Valakevoro. The center of the village belongs to Saumua and Tonganiuthi, subclans of the highest ranking clan, Vakanaiau. Although Vakanaiau is given one share of an island feast, and hence ranks as a clan, its two subclans often function as independent units. Saumua holds the highest rank, for it is related to the chiefs' carpenter phratry. Saumua men are hereditary carpenters. Tonganiuthi is a priest clan which originated, according to tradition, from a refugee priest of the Levuka clan in Lomatchi. Valakevoro has a confused pedigree and is claimed by both the land and the chiefs' phratries; but, since it receives the last Undu share at an island feast, it apparently ranks with the land group. Matasoata is definitely an old clan of the land group; one of the original nucleus of the island. The Nanggara clan of Nggalinggali was formerly attached to Undu which is a stronghold of the land people, who consider their forbears the origin (*undu*) of the aborigines of Kambara. The clans of the village claim possession of the island of Marambo.

NAWATCHIA

Nawatchia village on Namuka is divided into four clans. They occupy parallel strips of village land from west to east as follows: Nalele owned by Nggalitoka clan, Toyovu by the Toyovu clan, Nawatchia by the Nawatchia clan, and Mboutolu owned by the Mboutolu clan. The dwelling houses cluster about the village ceremonial ground in irregular rows, roughly parallel to the beach. The Nawatchia clan-hamlet, containing the ceremonial ground, is the oldest part of the village, and the Nawatchia clan holds highest rank. It is composed of two subclans, Nawatchia and Nasau. The subclan Nawatchia traces its pedigree to immigrants from Nggalikarua village on Matuku island and from Tonga. It was founded about five generations ago. Nasau holds the title of chief of crops (*vaka vanua*).

Mboutolu and Toyovu frequently function as one clan, called Nasoiya. Mboutolu originated from immigrants of the Valakevoro clan in Undu, who came to Namuka about five generations ago. The men of one branch of the Mboutolu group are hereditary carpenters who specialize in making gongs. This branch is related to the *lemaki* carpenters. The Toyovu group is descended from an immigrant who went to Namuka from the Matasoata clan in Undu about four generations ago. The hereditary clan title, chief of Namuka, belongs to Toyovu.

The clan Nggalitoka has three subclans: Nggalitoka, Sawa, and Taliku.

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Nggalitoka was founded eight generations ago by Matakali of Saumua, the chiefs' carpenter clan in Undu. The men of Nggalitoka are hereditary carpenters. The titles master fisherman and envoy to Lakemba are held by Nggalitoka.

The inhabitants of Namuka belong to the land phratry. People of Namuka and Kambara say that Vakawaluwalu, who appears in the pedigree of Nanggara clan, Nggalinggali, is their ancestor and that Namuka was settled by people from Nggalinggali. The genealogies of the Namuka clans, however, trace back five to eight generations to immigrants mainly from Undu but also from Matuku, Tonga, and Wangava.

NASAU

Nasau village on Mothe consists of four clans: Mbutonikoro of the chiefs' phratry, and Nasau, Kamali and Vangariki of the land phratry. The old part of the village is set in crooked rows around the village ceremonial ground. Mbutonikoro, the ranking clan, occupies the center with Nasau on the east side and Vangariki and Kamali on the west. A small, new section of the village, containing Mbutonikoro and Kamali houses, is situated west of the village proper and separated from it by a drainage ditch. West of the new section lie the village cemetery and the chiefs' cemetery.

About six generations ago Uluilakemba II founded the Mbutonikoro clan (p. 38). The headman of Mbutonikoro holds the hereditary clan title of chief of Mothe and functions today as the chief of the island. Mbutonikoro is composed of two subclans: Ndalithe, founded by Talemaitonga and Wanggalevu, the two oldest sons of Uluilakemba II; and Nukumbalevu, founded by Tuiono, the third son of Uluilakemba II. A third subclan of Mbutonikoro, called Muaitokavonu, has died out.

Nasau has three subclans: Sikimoko, Tchikinaira, and Nasungu. Mbaloto and Nanggali, formerly subclans of Nasau, are extinct.

Kamali is a priest clan which, according to the natives, was important in olden days. It is divided into two subclans, Valelevu and Vunikavika. It was originally a band of brothers, the sons of Ndokosambau. Valelevu consists of the descendants of Mbatchinimalungu and Linganiwere, the first two sons of Ndokosambau; and Vunikavika consists of the descendants of Usaia, the third son. The split occurred in pre-Christian times. The Valelevu subclan holds the clan titles of priest, chief's administrator, and herald. The clan headman installs the chief of Mothe.

Vangariki clan formerly contained two subclans: Mbuasa and Vangarikiwai. The latter can be traced to the Mata[illegible]a clan in Undu. Vangarikiwai is extinct, and there is only one household on Mbuasa.

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KOROTOLU

Korotolu village on Mothe has two clans, Vanganduku (also called Narothake) and Nggali, both of the land phratry. Vanganduku contains two subclans, Muanivanua and Vanganduku. Nggali has two subclans, Ndakuituvana and Manukuira. Ndakuituvana is the older and holds the titles of chief of crops, master fisherman, and envoy to Lakemba. Manukuira was founded four generations ago by Waisake (of Savalo clan, Tovu, Totoya) who married a Ndakuituvana woman.

MUANAITHAKE

Muanaithake village on Fulanga is composed of four clans: Vunikoro, Rasea and Nasava of the land phratry and Vandravandra of the sea people. The natives of all clans except Vunikoro remember only five generations of their pedigrees, which are all traced to ancestors born on the island. The main subclan of Vunikoro is descended from two brothers, Tukailangi and Takaimbatchi, the sons of Rorovakambelo of the clan Ndreketi, Nasangalau village, Lakemba. The mother of these brothers was Kauyawa from the Toka clan, Naivindamu, Fulanga. Tukailangi was the first-born, and his direct descendant holds the title of chief of Fulanga. Vunikoro and Rasea (formerly called Naiwasewase) were, until a few years ago, two subclans of the Vunikoro clan, a priest clan. Today the clan Rasea has two subclans, Naiwasewase and Vunimbosua. Rasea holds the hereditary title of envoy to Lakemba.

The clan Nasava has two subclans, Nasavalevu and Sau (also called Nasavailoma). These two were formerly separate clans. Nasavalevu is related to Nasangalau, Lakemba, and to the chiefs' carpenter group. The subclan Sau is related to Thekena clan, Lakemba. It holds the title of chief of the ceremonial ground. Before the time of Vunikoro, Nasava clan and Muanaira village had their own chief. He belonged to the Nggilo clan of Muanaira.

The clan Vandravandra formerly had three subclans: Vandravandra, Sokina, and Nainggawali. Sokina and Nainggawali each have but one remaining male representative. The title of Vandravandra is Tui Naro, which is the title held by the clan headman. He also holds the titles of herald and master fisherman. Nasava and Vandravandra own more land than either Vunikoro or Rasea.

MUANAIRA

There are four clans in Muanaira village: Nggilo, Tawalia, Emba and Embalailai. The houses of the Nggilo clan, which ranks highest in the land group on Fulanga, face the ceremonial ground. Tawalia occupies the southwest, Emba the northeast, and Embalailai the northwest corner of the village. The people of Muanaira belong to the land phratry and know little of their pedigrees.

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Nggilo was formerly composed of three subclans: Nggilo, Wairoa, and Koro. Nggilo and Koro are practically extinct. The title of chief of Muanaira is held by either Nggilo or Wairoa. Emba is divided into three subclans, descendants of three brothers. The subclans are named Embalevu, Nararaithake, and Nararaira. Embalailai formerly had two subclans, Embalailai and Nalovoloa. The latter is extinct.

NAIVINDAMU

The hamlet grouping of clans is clearly seen in the ground plan of the village of Naivindamu. The two clans of the village form local units, Lingau occupying the northeast part and Toka the southwest. Lingau has two subclans, Vunituitui and Lingau. Vunituitui on the northeast side of the Lingau clan-hamlet holds the hereditary clan title of priest. Lingau on the southwest side holds the clan title of chief's administrator. Toka also has two subclans, Nawi in the center of the clan site, and Toka on either side of Nawi. It holds no titles. The people of Naivindamu belong to the land phratry.

NAITHULAIANGA

The land of Naithulaianga village on Ongea is divided into five parallel strips owned by the four village clans as follows: Tumbesara—with two strips, one for each of its subclans, Tumbesara and Nggaralevu—Mata, Tawalo, and Nggalileka. Both Tawalo and Nggalileka would have died out in the last generation had not the only surviving members, one female in each clan, carried on the line. Part of the land of these two clans is used by the Tumbesara clan, which stands in the *vasu* (p. 63) relationship to both. Some of the land is used as the village ceremonial ground.

The natives of Ongea remember only four or five generations of their pedigrees, which are all traced to ancestors born on the island. Mata and Nggalileka belong to the land phratry. Mata is reputed to be the oldest clan on the island. It holds the title of chief of crops. Nggalileka holds the titles of chief's administrator and envoy to Lakemba. Tawalo belongs to the sea people and holds the clan titles of master fisherman and chief of the ceremonial ground. To Tumbesara belongs the title of chief of Ongea, and clan members say they belong to the chiefs' phratry; but this affiliation cannot be proved by the clan pedigree.

RANK

The social organization of Lau is keyed to a deep-rooted and elaborate system of rank. Not only each phratry, clan, subclan, family and individual, but also each village and chiefdom holds a definite rank in the scheme. The historic division of society into phratries forms the broad basis for the ranking system. The land phratry constitutes the lower class of society while the other four phratries constitute the upper class, the chiefs' phratry ranking highest.

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Clan Titles

554 The rank of a clan is determined not only by its phratry affiliation, but also
618 by the hereditary clan titles (pp. 48-53) held by its clan headman (*turanga ni matanggali*). Although the highest clan titles are held by the clans belonging to the upper class, some titles belonging to the lower class (such as the herald, *mata ni vanua*, to the high chief) take precedence over some noble titles. However, the clans in each class are ranked and the sum of hereditary prestige held by those in the upper class is much higher than that held by the lower class.

Theoretically the headman of the highest ranking clan is the high chief of Lau and to him all islands pay tribute. The chief is assisted by officials who hold graded hereditary clan titles. Chiefs or minor chiefdoms are headmen of ranking island clans. They receive tribute from the villages of their petty domains. They, in turn, have graded assistants.

High Chief

[554] The title of highest rank in Lau is the Roko Sau, chief of Naiau. He is
643 the chief of Lakemba and Naiau islands, and he is the high chief of Lau to whom all the islands in the chiefdom pay tribute. The title of chief of Lakemba, which he should logically hold also, exists in Fiji only as the ceremonial title of a forefather god. According to Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 219), the gods, Tokairambe and Tui Lakemba Randinandina, are the sons of Ndengei who ranks supreme among the gods. The title of Tui Lakepa (Lakemba) is found in Tonga. (See also Gifford, 9, p. 34 and Hocart, 13, p. 44.)

The title of Roko Sau Tui Naiau is held by either one of two subclans, Matailakemba or Vatuwangga of Vuanirewa clan. Succession depends on the rank of both parents, on seniority, and on personal ability. It was formerly determined by a council of clan elders. Hocart (15, p. 51) writes:

> . . . It appears that several conflicting principles govern the succession. First, the general custom of passing from elder to younger brother till that generation is extinct, then taking the next generation in the same order. Second, the tendency to alternate between two houses, Matailakemba and Vatuwangga, descended from two brothers, to the exclusion of two lines that were defeated in civil wars. Third, the tendency to recognize superior nobility of the senior branch. The result is to leave the door open to considerations of character, and to violent usurpation.

Colonial government officials now take part with the clan elders in appointing the high chief.

[595] Formerly the high chief had one principal wife, a woman of high rank chosen either from Lau or from one of the other chiefdoms in Fiji, and several secondary wives (*i solonga*), women of lower rank, from Lakemba or the outlying islands. The relative rank of the offspring of the chief depended upon the rank of the mother. Children of the principal wife were called *turanga*, those of the other wives *i kaso*. Now the high chief has but one wife.

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chief of Tokalau. Undu village has a chief called Tui Undu. He is from the Valakevoro clan and receives a village offering of first fruits. The village of Muanaira has a chief from the Nggilo clan.

The title of chief of the ceremonial ground (*tui ra* or *tui rara*) is found on every island. It is held by a clan of the land group. Presentations of food to the chief and subsequent distributions to the people take place on the ceremonial ground. The duty of the chief of the ceremonial ground is to divide the food so that each clan receives its share, according to rank and size.

Clan titles, now obsolete, but formerly found on Kambara are chief headman (*sau turanga*), held by the Nanggara clan headman; master of war (*mbatchi ndau ni valu*), held by Matasoata or Valakevoro clans, Undu; food master (*mbatchi ni kakana*) held by Nawi of Lomatchi.

Rank within the Clan

Rank within the clan is regulated by the principles of primogeniture, seniority, and cross-cousin marriage. The direct descendant of the first-born (*ulu matua*) son of the originator of the clan holds the highest rank within the clan, and of subclans which comprise the clan his takes precedence by seniority. The elder of either sex takes precedence over the younger throughout the lineage in each generation. Rank within the clan is discussed on pages 58-64.

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP

Marriage

Formerly polygyny was practiced by high ranking men who could afford several wives, especially by the chiefs. Monogamy, however, was the rule among people of lower rank. Polyandry was unknown. Today, as a result of missionary influence, Lauan society is monogamous.

Cross-cousin marriage

A man preferably marries his *watchi* (cross cousin, his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter, real or classificatory), but not all marriages fall within the preferred type. Formerly it was not uncommon for a chief to take two sisters as wives or for a man to marry the sister of his deceased wife. It is not rare for a man to marry his brother's widow.

Clan exogamy is the rule and a study of interclan marriage based on clan pedigrees shows that there is a tendency for certain clans to intermarry. This tendency is strongest on Ongea and Fulanga and weakest on Kambara and Mothe. It is probable that cross-cousin marriage is also more frequently practiced on the two isolated southern islands of Ongea and Fulanga and least on Kambara and Mothe. The genealogies from the five islands visited are not sufficient to furnish conclusive data on this point.

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582 Marriage between the subclans within a clan are found in the pedigrees.
618 Of the total number of marriages recorded for any one clan, however, the number of such clan endogamous marriages is usually less than 25 percent. It is possible that in the past no clan endogamous marriages occurred, but some marriages, as recorded in the pedigrees, appear to be endogamous because of the recent fusion of two clans.

582 A study of island inbreeding based on clan pedigrees shows a positive cor-
134 relation between inbreeding and infertility of the soil. The study shows that the highest percentage of intra-island marriages occurs on Fulanga, next highest on Ongea, then Kambara, Mothe, and Namuka. On the infertile southern islands, a lower percentage of individuals marry spouses from other islands than on the more fertile northern ones.

DESCENT AND RESIDENCE

591 Patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent are the rule in Lau, but there
611 are exceptions. A man may establish residence and affiliation with his wife's clan, for example, to prevent the extinction of a clan when the only living members are female. On Ongea the last surviving member of the Nggalileka clan, a woman, married Vesa of the Mata clan. Vesa and his family occupy the only house on the Nggalileka village land and control the clan's garden land. His children belong to Nggalileka, his wife's clan, but Vesa still belongs theoretically to Mata although he functions as the headman of Nggalileka.

Matrilocal residence and frequently matrilineal descent are used also to improve a man's economic status. Occasionally a man moves in with his wife's clan when it offers the young couple richer garden land than could be obtained from his own clan. For instance, Kolinio, a younger brother in the Vuanitavola clan, Tokalau, married Thiri of the Nakaka clan, Lomatchi. The Nakaka clan has a relatively large amount of the best garden land on Kambara, and the clan is rather small. Kolinio moved to Lomatchi where he used the garden lands of his wife's clan. Kolinio's children who are still young are considered members of the Vuanitavola clan in Tokalau, although in Lomatchi they function in the clan of their mother. Matrilocal residence is more common
[134] on fertile than on infertile islands, for there is a tendency for married couples who come from two different islands to establish residence on the more fertile island of the two.

Descent is in general correlated with residence. A man belongs to his father's clan unless his father has established his residence with and becomes a functional part of the clan of the man's mother. In this case the man usually functions with the clan of his mother until his marriage. Thereafter, if he returns with his wife to his father's clan and uses the clan lands, he and his children are considered members of his father's clan. If, on the other hand, he takes his wife to live with the clan of his mother he and his children are

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GRANDPARENTS AND GRANDCHILDREN

603 *Veitukani* is the collective term for grandfather and grandchild, *veitumbuni* for grandmother and grandchild. A man honors his grandfather's older brother, whom he designates as *tuka levu* (big grandfather). His attitude toward his real grandfather is one of respectful familiarity. He addresses his grandfather by the respectful term *tukai* or *tua* (which the natives say is a Tongan word) and does not use his personal name. The same terms are used to address his grandfather's younger brother. A man may take the clothes and garden food of his real grandfather without permission and may request his pigs and chickens and the use of his coconut groves. Grandparents indulge grandchildren, taking their part against parents. A man respects his grandmother's older sister, and the polite form of address is *tumbu levu* (big [576] grandmother). For the grandmother and her younger sister, *mbui* is correct. Children call their grandmothers *tutu* or *pupu*. Children spend much time with their grandparents, who lavish attention upon them.

VEIVUNGONI AND VASU

604 The collective term *veivungoni* includes the mother's brother and his wife, father's sister and her husband, father-in-law and mother-in-law, son-in-law 606 and daughter-in-law, and the child of one's sibling of the opposite sex. A strict [835] reciprocal avoidance is observed between *veivungoni*. Sexual intercourse is tabu between them. They avoid meeting, speaking to one another, and never look at one another. When they are together they keep the head and eyes lowered and avoid saying more than is necessary. The words come slowly and heavily in a trembling voice. Jokes and references to sex are prohibited. A woman does not tell her mother-in-law when she is pregnant nor does she discuss childbirth with her. Her mother-in-law may, however, assist with the delivery, and treat her daughter-in-law if she is ill. Those standing in the *vungo* relationship (p. 57) do not address one another with personal names [576] but use the polite second person plural, *kemundrau*. The polite term of address for mother's older brother and for father's older sister's husband is *mono*, and the polite term for the father's older sister and the mother's older brother's wife is *ngane*. These two terms are used without the possessive suffix. It is tabu to curse one's *mono* or *ngane*. *Veivungoni* may enter the same house, eat together, drink in the same kava circle and eat one another's left over food. Although sleeping in the same house is not allowed, it is quite common for a widowed mother-in-law to live in the house of the son-in-law (table 1).

604 *Veivungoni* are allowed to take each other's property without asking. This privilege is formalized in the *vasu* relationship which exists between a man 606 and the clan of his mother's brother. A man is the *vasu* of his mother's ● 618 brother's clan and has, therefore, the privilege of appropriating the clan prop-

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erty without permission. The obligations of the mother's brother regarding the *vasu* are inherited by the mother's clan, so that as long as the *vasu* lives he may exercise *vasu* rights.

The *vasu* rights of a high chief extend to all his mother's people. For instance, the son of the sister of the high chief of Lau may, in the capacity of *vasu*, demand property from all the islands of the Lau group. He is called the great *vasu*, and his demands are a form of tribute.

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The first *vasu* ceremony is conducted by the *vasu's* father when the *vasu* is a child. The father collects mats, tapa, sennit, and whales' teeth from his subclan. This property is called *i yau ni vaka lutulutu*. The father presents it according to the ceremonial presentation pattern (pp. 65-68) to the mother's brother, who accepts it and divides it among the members of his subclan. The ceremony gives the *vasu* the privilege of taking property at any time from the subclan of his mother's brother. He may take food from his uncle's garden and may kill and eat his pigs. Anything he requests according to the soliciting system (p. 207) will be granted. The maternal uncle, on the other hand, has the right to retaliate by taking property from the subclan of his *vasu*. This is called "causing the staff to fall" (*vakambale i titoko*). The privilege is, however, seldom exercised. (Hocart, 15, p. 40.)

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The *vasu* relationship is technically a formalized exchange of property with deferred payment and not a one-sided appropriation. The exchange is not reciprocally balanced since eventually the *vasu* receives the larger share of property. It is a form of affinal exchange, one of the series of ceremonial exchanges of property between the paternal and the maternal clans which occur also at marriage, birth, and death. The *vasu* relationship in Lau serves to establish and emphasize a strong tie between a man and his mother's clan in a patrilineal society. Just as through patrilineal descent a man inherits membership with its privileges and obligations in the clan of his father, so through the *vasu* relationship he inherits a definite status accompanied by privileges and obligations in the clan of his mother.

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Cross-cousin marriage is consistent with and may be genetically connected with the concept of the *vasu*. A man preferably takes a wife from the clan of his mother. As *vasu* he has the right to demand his mother's brother's daughter. The marriage involves a ceremonial exchange of property between the clan of his father and that of his mother and more closely knits the *vasu* with his mother's clan.

The avoidance observed between *vungo* reaches its highest expression between the *vasu* and his maternal uncle. The abus between *vungo* are emphasized in the *vasu* relationship, and an attitude of respect is shown on both sides.

The chief of Kambara says that the *vasu* relationship originated in the *vakalutulutu* custom of the early inhabitants. He says that formerly among the

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land people the *vasu* did not exist, but that the mother's brother's clan prepared and assembled property for the sister's son. They then notified the sister's son, who came and took the property, which was called his share (*vakalutulutu*). This suggests that the formal presentation of property between the mother's brother and the sister's son is old in Lau. The idea of seizure of property may be intrusive from Tonga where it is a part of the *fahu* (*vasu*) institution. (Gifford, 9, pp. 22-23.)

SOCIAL CEREMONIAL

Social life in Lau conforms to strict rules of etiquette based on rank. The same pattern of behavior, with variations in degree of elaboration according to rank, is used down the whole social scale. Each individual observes the main rules of the polite (*vakarokoroko*) etiquette toward persons, whether related or not, of higher rank or toward persons who stand in the avoidance relationship. The rules are learned by children before the age of seven or eight, and infringement of them causes a loss of social prestige.

The fine points of chiefly etiquette are known only by high ranking persons who have at some time been members of the chief's court at Tumbou, where social life is most highly formalized.

In the presence of the high chief one behaves in the polite manner. No one is allowed to stand erect. Persons of low rank sit before him cross-legged with bowed heads. They often tremble with excitement. They are ashamed and look down at the ground. They crouch or bend low when he passes. Persons of low rank rarely speak in the presence of the chief. Respect is shown by silence. Joking is forbidden. A special phraseology, called polite speech (*vosa vakarokoroko*) is used in the chief's presence. This phraseology is in the Mbauan dialect and consists mainly of metaphors employed instead of the usual terms for parts of the body, actions, property, and personal relationship. Polite speech is used mainly on Lakemba. It is rarely heard in southern Lau and few natives know it. (Hocart, 15, pp. 46-49.)

The chiefly greeting (*tama*) consists of the exclamation, "O . . . . oa!" All chiefly ceremonial is in the polite speech. Formerly infringement of chiefly etiquette in the presence of the chief was punished by clubbing or death, depending upon the rank of the chief and upon the offense. A simplified form of chiefly etiquette is used in the presence of minor chiefs and relatives who stand in the respect relationship.

Guests visiting a man's house observe definite rules of etiquette. No one except the owner is allowed to sit on the foundation mound or the door sill of the house. The interior of the house is divided into three parts. The lower end of the house (*sue*), extending from the main entrance (*katumba i sue* or *katumba kumba i ra*) to the first supporting posts, is public. The middle of the house (*mbuto ni vale*), the main section between the supporting posts, is

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Conch shells (*ndavui*) were kept in the sacred caves. When propitiated by the priest the god entered the shells. They were then blown by the priest and the blast was considered to be the voice of the god. Moto says that when he was a young man, the land people on Kambara went with the priest to a sacred cave during a drought. After they performed a kava ceremony outside the cave the priest entered and prayed. When he blew the conch shell in the cave the people know he had contacted the god.

Offerings were formerly presented at a sacred stone called Kalou, found in the hamlet site of Toka, southwest of Naivindamu on the shore of the Fulanga lagoon. It consists of an almost cylindrical block of unworked limestone, about 60 cm. high and with a diameter of 35 cm., set on a pile of stone about 30 cm. high. The natives of Naivindamu say the stone contains mana.

Near the site of Onemata on Kambara lies a block of limestone which projects about one meter out of the ground. Here the natives say a man, who is now an ancestor god, entered the stone. The place is sacred.

ANCESTOR WORSHIP

The ancestor cult was introduced into Lau by the group of immigrants who founded the chiefs' phratry. It has become the keynote of Lauan religion. The pattern of ranked clans of the upper class was reflected in a celestial hierarchy of ancestral gods. Ndengei, the snake god of Viti Levu, was the most powerful forefather, because he was the originator of the group. Then came the forefather gods of each noble clan in order of rank which was originally determined by success in warfare. The ancestor gods were war gods, the ghosts of famous warriors. They were propitiated to gain mana for enhancing social prestige, and their eventual rank in the celestial hierarchy depended upon their mana-bestowing powers as reflected in the successes and failures of their clans.

The concept of mana associated with the ancestor cult is strong in the native pattern of thought. According to this concept mana is the vital force or potency which gives superhuman significance to persons or things: to human beings, animals, plants or inanimate objects. Its presence in a person or thing is not attributed to power inherent in the thing itself but to some spiritual force lodging in it. The spiritual force is frequently one of the beings who peopled the superhuman world of the Lauans before the advent of Christianity. The most powerful of these beings were the ancestor gods.

The first-born of each noble clan was the temporary repository of the mana of the clan's ancestral forefathers. The chiefs had the strongest forefathers and the high chief was most sacred because theoretically he received mana from the most powerful ancestor gods.

The ancestor gods of each noble clan were incarnated in from one to three

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The main forefather of the Vuanikathu clan on Kambara was Lekutu Lev (Big Bush), a war god, formerly worshipped by the clan priest in the tem le called Nai Langa Mbakola. He was propitiated with human sacrifices in t e form of *mbakola* (human bodies to be eaten), with kava and first fruits. Lek utu Levu was consulted by the priest before a clan raid. The Vuanikathu war iors, when threatening to attack a village, would sing:

[726 539]

a vura ko Lekutu Levu!	The people of Lekutu Levu are coming!
Koko luvemu!	Hide your children!
Koko luvemu!	Hide your children!

The god of the Vuanikathu clan was incarnated in the mariqiqi (*Scyphiphora hydrophyllacea*) tree, the barracuda (*ongo*), and the kaiserou (*vuvu*) bird. On Kambara the mariqiqi tree grows only at Langa Mbakola in the bush behind Nakwanga on land belonging to the Vuanikathu clan. Vuanikathu keeps the land clear under the trees. The mariqiqi does not bear edible fruit but its fragrant flowers may not be picked or worn in wreaths. Even today a member of Vuanikathu may not catch or eat a barracuda. The clan members formerly prayed to the barracuda, not in the god house, but in the dwelling house. *Kaiserou* birds are caught by clan members, rubbed with a piece of barkcloth soaked in perfumed coconut oil and then released. The bird does not nest on Kambara today, but it occasionally comes from the neighboring island of Wangava, where it is common.

The forefather of Mbutonikoro clan of the chiefs' group on Mothe, according to the clan headman, was Ului Lakemba who came to the island six

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generations ago and founded the clan. The main gods of the clan, however, were those of the Vunirogoa clan of Lakeba from whom the Lauans are descended (p. 36, title 3). The gods of Vunikoro were incarnated in the *lisiu* tree, the *kanaka* fish, and the *kikilo* bird. The slogan of the clan was "Kana kana kalou" (*kana*, food; *kalou*, god).

The chief priest on Mothe belonged to the Kamali clan. The foundation of the principal god house, located on the old Kamali hamlet site in west Mothe, may still be seen. It is surrounded by sweet smelling plants. It is still regarded as a sacred place, and as they approach it the Mothe people become silent and remove their turbans and ornaments. The god of Kamali was incarnated in the scaled shark (*nggio thave*), the *vivili*, and the *matamila* fish which were tabu to Kamali. Members of the clan think that the *kaisevou* bird, which is common on Mothe, used to be tabu also. The principal forefather of Kamali is not known but the clan genealogy is traced seven generations back to the priest Mirakilangi. Other priests in the clan pedigree are Malanamailangi, Wanggathiri, Ndolosambau, and Mbatchimalungu.

The main forefather of the Vunikoro clan on Fulanga was called Rokoratu. He built the fortified village of Unduundu. He was worshipped at Mbure Kalou Levu (The Great Temple), called also Mbure ni Kalou Rokoratu, which was located at the old fortress of Unduundu on the hill behind Muanaithake. He was incarnated in the *ulumburu* fish and the *sesu matua* fish which were formerly tabu to Vunikoro.

The chiefs' group believed that toward the west or northwest lay not only the land of their origin but also the abode of the dead (p. 118).

I have concluded from the above that in contrast with the land group the chief group did not possess true totems. They did, however, possess tabu and totem gods which were incarnated in species of natural phenomena.

THE PRIESTHOOD

A hereditary priesthood is associated with ancestor worship in Lau. It was apparently also introduced by the chiefs' group.

Informants say that in the old days the priests outranked the chiefs. According to tales this was so at the time of the Ndaunisai migration. The following tale, common in Lau, records the division of power between the priests and chiefs:

Nggileso, the chief priest, had two sons, Nggoma and Ndelaivungalei. Nggoma succeeded Nggileso and sent Ndelaivungalei to Naiau for mats to use in the god house. Ndelaivungalei secured the mats but he remained on Naiau and became chief. He had a son named Niumataiwalu and a daughter. Nggoma had two sons. When they reached maturity they were sent to their uncle on Naiau for mats. Nggoma's sons disliked Ndelaivungalei and on the way to Naiau they planned to kill him. They were received at Naiau, and the chief of Naiau asked them for ingredients for a pudding to eat at

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part of the house was covered with mats and separated from the rest of the house by a row of tapa curtains (*tolitoli*). The couch is raised about 2 feet above the floor. The chief and his wife usually sleep on a pile of sleeping mats (*tabola* or *tavila*) just in front of the couch. Other members of the household often sleep on the floor mats in two parallel rows down the central section, their heads toward the center of the house, their feet toward the side walls. Tongan tapa is used as bed covering when needed. Mosquito curtains of tapa are not used in southern Lau.

Wooden headrests (*kuli*) are used in Lau, especially by the older men. Intimately associated with the head, which is the center of mana, the headrest is tabu private property. It may not be touched by persons of lower rank than the owner. Headrests are kept in the upper part of the house.

Clan property is stored in the house of the clan headman. Mats and bark-cloth, representing the main wealth of the clan, are wrapped in old mats and tied into bundles (*solesole*) with native rope or sennit. A long, wooden rod is placed over the lower tie beams and the bundles are stored across this rod and the median plate. As many as four bundles in one house are rarely seen and many houses have no bundles at all. Natives say that formerly more wealth was accumulated than today. Rolls of sennit are placed behind the couch or hung in the lower part of the house. If the clan owns a kava bowl it is hung by the sennit hanger with the strainer, in the lower part of the house. Unused kava and food bowls are stored under the couch. They are concealed by the mat covering which hangs down to the floor in front. As far as I could determine there are few whales' teeth in southern Lau. If a clan possesses one of these valuable objects it is hidden away and not hung on the supporting posts in the upper part of the house as in Tumbou, Lakemba. The floor is swept with a broom (*i walowalo*) of midribs of coconut leaflets, made by women. The midrib of a coconut leaflet is cut with a knife from the base to the end of the leaflet. After a few have been collected each midrib is carefully trimmed. A hand broom is made by binding the midribs with sennit to a short broomstick, fan upon fan. A floor broom for cleaning the rafters is made by attaching the midribs to a long broomstick.

Vale lolova kathukathu

In small sleeping houses of the type called *vale lolova kathukathu* (pl. 4, C), the curved wall plate (*i lolo*) is not made of joined sections as in the Tongan house type, but is made of a rod or several rods bent into place. Informants say that most of the dwelling houses in the old village of Tokalau were of this type. The house is smaller and not so strong as the *vale vaka Tonga*, but it has an oval ground plan. It differs from the *vale vaka Tonga* mainly as follows: First, the two end king posts are embedded in the ground instead of resting on the median plate and the tie beams (which are not so strong

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before the priest, a bowl of yaqona with which he anoints his breast and then invites the spirit to enter. He gives his arms and various members a violent shake, and his head becomes absorbed in thought, and his eyes watch him with unblinking steadiness. In a few minutes he trembles, slight distortions are seen in his face, and twitching movements in his limbs. These increase to a violent muscular action, which spreads until the whole frame is strongly convulsed, and the man shivers as with a strong ague fit. In some instances this is accompanied with murmurs and sobs, and veins are greatly enlarged, and the circulation of the blood quickened. The priest is now possessed by his god, and all his words and actions are considered as no longer his own, but those of the deity who has entered into him. Shrill cries of *'Koi au! Koi au!'* (It is I! It is I!) fill the air, and the god is supposed thus to notify his approach. While giving the answer the priest's eyes stand out and roll as in a frenzy; his voice is unnatural, his face pale, his lips livid, his breathing depressed, and his entire appearance like that of a furious madman. The sweat runs from every pore, and tears start from his strained eyes; after which the symptoms gradually disappear . . . "[47]

The success of the clan in warfare, its strength, man power, and wealth were derived from the "mana" of its ancestral gods. This clan "mana" was concentrated in the clan "old head" (that is the first born direct male descendant of the first son of the founder). The high chief of Lau has the most "mana" of any living person. Theoretically the direct descendant of the highest ancestral god, he is considered to be the most sacred living being.

The ancestral gods formed a sort of celestial hierarchy which was reflected in the system of ranked clans in Lauan society. Ndengei (pronounced En-deng-é'), the great snake god of Viti Levu and mythical originator of the upper class in Lau, stood at the top of the set-up. Tradition says that many generations

[47] Williams and Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 224-225.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 QQ6 Lau QQ6
Kambara

Ndengei, who was then a man, and his companions [illegible] on the west coast of Viti Levu, [illegible] settled on the Nakauvadra range in the northern interior. From here the descendants of Ndengei moved into most of eastern Fiji. The migration into southern Lau was led by Ndaunisai (pronounced En-dau-ni-sai), a descendant of Ndengei. Ndaunisai founded the upper class in Lau, and today he ranks next to Ndengei among the heavenly hosts. Then come other forefathers of the noble class according to rank.

769 618 The ancestral gods of each clan were incarnated in a species of tree, a species of fish, and a species of bird. It was tabu for clan members to eat or harm them and this tabu is upheld by some Lauans today. There is no evidence that the gods in Lau were represented by carved wooden or stone images.

565 769 618 776 The lower class in Lau participated in the outer form of the ancestor cult but never accepted its inner content. Although each clan had its gods, temples, and priests, the clan gods of the lower class apparently consisted of spirits who had never lived on earth, rather than ghosts of departed ancestors, and they did not appear in the celestial hierarchy of gods. Just as the commoners maintained their clan divisions, so they retained also their clan deities in spite of the influence of the nobles.

565 [illegible] The commoners of each island formerly believed in their local origin from some natural phenomenon such as a tree or an animal which was a totem. There are no other stories of their origin and no migration tales concerning them. The lower class of Kambara, for example, believed in its local origin from a *ngingia* (pronounced ngi-ngi-a) tree (*Barringtonia maritima*) located near the beach north of Undu. The tree is still sacred to the commoners. In times of trouble, offerings of kava and food are still made at the base of this tree, which is kept free of underbrush. The red shark is the incarnation of the god of the Kambara commoners. It is the guardian of the lower class of Kambara, and no commoner even today